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DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it "first best" of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

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CONTENTS.

Character the Basis of Success.....145
Socialism in England—*E. T. Craig*.....145
Causes of National Progress—*C. S. J.*.....146
Effectual Reform—*Henry Travis, M. D.*.....147
Industrial Home Company—*Joel A. H. Ellis*.....147
Mixed—*W. A. H.*.....148
"Political" and "Social" Communism—*W. A. H.*.148
Imported Righteousness—*J. H. N.*.....148
Read Again—*W. A. H.*.....149
The Question of Immortality—*T. L. Pitt*.....149
Cerebrum Abdominale—*R.*.....149
Review Notes—*W. A. H.*.....150
The Principle of Communism—its Universality.....150
"American Communities"—*Truth Seeker*.....150
One Thing and Another—*A. B.*.....151

CHARACTER THE BASIS OF SUCCESS.

BY A MEMBER OF ONE OF THE SHAKER COMMUNITIES.

The character of an institution is but the reflex of the character of the individuals composing it.

Character—intelligence and integrity—is the basis of all associations from which we can confidently hope for success.

To make Communal life the highest type of social existence, it must be adapted to human needs, and respond to every innate principle in human nature.

Jesus was a Communist; he recognized the Jewish fraternity as far as the law effected justice and common brotherhood. But, religiously, he was the direct product of the Essene Community, which had all things in common. His standard of greatness of character was not in the exercise of authority, but in humble service rendered—giving his whole life for his friends, without partiality. This required and stimulated affection, sympathy, friendship, equality, impartial love, union and peace: the only cementing elements, and vitally essential to successful Communism.

Character is very much a matter of sound health, a well-balanced brain, an educated and disciplined will, and an enlightened conscience; and until human beings make a nearer approach to these qualities by education and inheritance, hope of desired success must be deferred. Since science, religion and nature have become allies we do not object to "scientific propagation," having for its only object the improvement of the race.

The want of suitable material is a great drawback to success in Communism. "Pleasant-home" seekers are but an incubus—the "ball and chain" of society.

"Order is heaven's first law." "Where there is no law there is no God." Then how to establish, execute and administer rules friendly to the best individual development is the problem before Communists. Management is the agency on which depends the success or failure of all enterprises.

All Community organizations must respond to human needs, innate in the constitution of man, or God is not in them; and "the builders build in vain." Man being the image of God—"a living soul"—his every faculty is God-given, indestructible, yet is endowed with capabilities of development from a low to a higher plane—from the animal to the divine—from the natural to the spiritual—from the condition appropriate to the selfish family to that which will make harmony in the Communal or augmented family.

What basis of organization and what form of administration will insure Communal homes that shall be perpetual, is the problem seeking a solution. And unless a way be found to secure for the enlarged home the conditions necessary to the happiness and prosperity of the small family, Communities will continue to show signs of old age and decay and be valuable only as charts for future navigators on the Socialistic Sea.

In a Community where all are equal owners, mutually equal in service, mutually bound to support and maintain one another, there must be an inspiring motive, a central idea, an intelligent faith, an educated reason, a divine afflatus, a magnetic needle of conscious duty ever pointing to the polar-star of a better future.

In a Community embracing all ages, from the infant to the octogenarian, how shall the united interests in *all things* be concentrated and distributed to secure the best results from this collective, integral body? Communism contemplates a permanent home, differing from the common family, where at maturity children leave the parental roof. How then shall the natural instinct of independence be diverted from personal to society interests?

For one thing, priority of ownership, hence of right, must be guarded against, or it will become in effect a life-lease of office, which may be a dangerous evil.

To succeed an institution must have the vivacity of youth, the strength of mature manhood, and that wisdom which comes of experience. A man must not be less a man in a Community than he would be out of it. The only hope of society is in the development and perfection of individual character; and this in turn depends upon the daily cross and self-denial: not of the many to the few, nor of the whole to a system, but of the whole to a *principle:* "*The greatest good to the whole.*"

The interest of the members must be parallel to their ownership and recognized rights. The unrestrained expression of private judgment, subject to a constituted and authorized deciding power, is a sure safeguard against usurpation. It has been wisely said:

"Any Community which dwarfs its members in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands, even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery, to which it has sacrificed every thing, will in the end avail it nothing for want of that vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly it has preferred to banish."

Pulsation and respiration are conditions of life; no morbid blood or bated breath; no finality or infallibility; no pillars of salt—preserved and stationary; no plowmen looking back; no pattern saints, who have exhausted the fountain of truth, and tell us God is no longer alive and active. "E'er a man can be a saint he first must be a man;" a man of integrity, of generous impulses, whose eyes are not dim with the scales of tradition; fearless in investigation of the way our fathers used to think. A man of this character will breathe the breath of life into a Community and keep it young—a cradle, a school, instead of a grave with a tombstone to mark the place where liberty and progress perished.

A Community must have living principles, and living, active men to embody them; men who investigate—who *doubt* as well as *believe.* Credulity, faith by authority without evidence, veneration and idolatry, have been the foes of all progress. The demand is for strong men

"who live above the fog
In public duty and private thinking."

To insure success a Community should be a solid phalanx with but one purpose in view, which to them is the pearl of great price for which they exchange all else to purchase.

Let no Community present a picture where the many form a melancholy background for the few. "For one is your master, even Christ (within), and ye are all brethren."

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES BY E. T. CRAIG.

XXXIV.

RALAHINE.

The difficulties in the way of organizing the Association of the laborers were great and peculiar, probably greater than ever existed in any other experiment of the kind. And when the obstacles arising from the ignorance and the prejudices of the first members were overcome, no fresh applications were made during the first three months by persons outside for admission as members. The number of laborers were too few for the extent of land under tillage, and more were required. The poverty, destitution, and wretchedness of the people around the estate were very great and depressing, as it was impossible to relieve them.

In visiting some of the miserable cabins at a little distance from Ralahine, I found the occupants in a most deplorable condition. In one mud cabin, on the hillside, I found a poor widow with four young children, without any means of subsistence, except what they could obtain by begging, on tramp, through the district. The only furniture consisted of a bed of straw spread over a wattled foundation on the floor of clay, with the stump of a tree for a seat, and an iron pot for cooking. The poor woman was accustomed to smoking a dirty clay pipe to deaden her sensibilities and allay the pangs of hunger, thereby soothing her cares at the cost of a half-penny a day.

I have seen the habitations of the peasantry of France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Switzerland, but in no country have I seen such wretchedness and misery as I saw in the cabins of the peasantry in the south of

Ireland. Although there were no applications from laborers to become members of our Community at the commencement, we had, as I have already mentioned, a very great number of visits from tramps and miserable mendicants.

It was evident that some of the married women in the Society, in accordance with their accustomed habits, had supplied the applicants with vegetables and milk obtained from the common dining-room. The result was as might have been expected; the place was the center of attraction to a class of persons who, however deserving they might be of charitable assistance, it was not desirable to encourage at Ralahine. The disposition to indiscriminate charity was soon checked, while it served to illustrate the practical wisdom of the plan adopted of paying wages in "Labor Notes."

In organizing the Society it was in contemplation to place all the members on an equality as to the means of enjoyment, and the landlord was to give whatever extra payments were required by the skilled laborer and artisan. But as the peasantry were ignorant of the principles of Socialism, and could not clearly comprehend the advantages to be derived without having some control over their income, it was decided to give the usual nominal wages, and so regulate prices and domestic arrangements that the members would become prepared for a higher social condition in the course of time.

Men are accustomed to consider money as wealth, while it is merely the representative of wealth. As it is always by means of money that people provide for their various necessities there grows up in their minds a desire for money, and a powerful habit and association is acquired of viewing money as wealth in a more peculiar form than any other article.

All money is representative of commodities, and a mere issuer of notes is not, necessarily, a lender of value. Labor is the only source of wealth, and creates the commodities, and money is a mere instrument of exchange, by which the products of labor are readily obtained for use or consumption; but it is not with money that articles are really purchased. The pound sterling, the sovereign, or the dollars in silver, are not what constitute wages. They are merely tokens or labor tickets which the workman can take to any store, shop, or tradesman as evidence of labor done, and for which he will obtain goods of a certain value. The farmer pays his laborers for their labor, or his landlord for his rent in these tokens, but the real wealth he pays is the wheat, beef, mutton, milk or other product of labor which he disposes of for these tickets or tokens. Except as a contrivance for saving time and labor, there can not be, intrinsically, a more insignificant thing than money. The capitalist does not rely on his gold for food or shelter, but buys these with the gold he has obtained from the labor of others. All other persons buy gold from the capitalist by means of some commodity. The gold or silver thus obtained can not be eaten, and is nothing more than an instrument of exchange.

But as gold is an article of merchandise or sale, it varies in its power of purchasing wealth created by labor. Wages don't vary as the interest of money varies, but the prices of food vary much, while wages remain comparatively uniform. It is absurd, therefore, to call gold a standard of value to the laborer. Neither a dollar nor a sovereign will buy the same amount of goods for consumption at all times and seasons. As a measure of value it is a quart to-day, a pint to-morrow, and a gill the next day. Gold may be legitimately used as an instrument of exchange, as well as an element in art; but as a standard of value, it is the source of incalculable mischief to the industrial classes. It serves admirably in its function for concealing the chicanery practiced upon the producing classes in abstracting portions of their industry, and as a convenient instrument for ruling the discounts.

The money value of the Irish laborer's work varied according to the price of his provisions. His wages were at that time uniform at eight or tenpence per day. The price of potatoes, however, varied from twopence to eightpence per stone. But wages were not advanced because provisions were more costly.

The political economist may urge that the law of supply and demand must be taken into consideration. This is true in the present irrational relations between labor, land and capital. The object is to obtain a rule of justice; and we seek the law of righteousness. This can only be realized in that equality arising out of a Community of property, where the labor of one member is valued at the same rate as that of another member.

It was not possible, at first, to attain to this condition of equality at Ralahine, but we made such arrangements as would impart a feeling of security, fairness and justice to all.

The prices of provisions were fixed and uniform. A laborer was charged one shilling a week for as many vegetables and fruits as he chose to consume. Milk was one penny per quart; beef and mutton fourpence per pound, and pork twopence halfpenny. The married members occupying separate dwellings were charged sixpence per week for rent and twopence for fuel.

CAUSES OF NATIONAL PROGRESS.

Physics and Politics. By Walter Bagehot.

This book consists of a collection of essays by the late editor of the London *Economist*, and is intended to throw some light on the progress of nations from savagery to civilization. Our general criticism of it would be, that while full of matter both interesting and instructive, it is lacking in sharp and clearly-drawn conclusions. We hold that every thoughtful book should have an objective point to be demonstrated or illustrated, toward which all the argument should converge, and which should be brought out into strong and unmistakable relief. This deficiency seems to have been felt by the author, who devotes a supplementary essay to the explanation of his aim in those which precede it, at the same time admitting a certain amount of vagueness and obscurity in his work. We do not think he is entirely successful in his final attempt to render his intent more clear; but we may as well accept his statement that he has "attempted to show that slighter causes than is commonly thought may change a nation from the stationary to the progressive state of civilization, and from the stationary to the degrading."

While admitting that the growth of nations is affected by physical causes, such as climate, soil, local situation, etc., he does not attribute the formation of a national character so exclusively to such influences as Buckle and others of his school are disposed to do. He finds that in many cases two peoples grow up side by side, with the same local advantages, the one of whom will develop a high civilization, while the other will barely rise above barbarism. In accounting for this, he makes great account of the habit which prevails in any aggregation of human beings, of imitating those who are most conspicuous. Here is a sample of his argument on this point:

"The way in which nations change, generation after generation, is exceedingly curious, and the change occasionally happens when it is very hard to account for. Something seems to steal over society, say of the Regency time as compared with that of the present Queen. * * * * Or let any one think how little is the external change in England between the age of Elizabeth and the age of Anne, compared with the national change. How few were the alterations in physical conditions, how few (if any) the scientific inventions affecting human life which the later period possessed, but the earlier did not! How hard it is to say what has caused the change in the people! And yet how total is the contrast, at least at first sight! In passing from Bacon to Addison, from Shakspeare to Pope, we seem to pass into a new world. I have spoken of the mode in which the literary change happens, because literature, being narrower and more definite than life, a change in the less serves as a model and illustration of the change in the greater. Some writer, not necessarily a very excellent writer or a remembered one, hit on something which suited the public taste: he went on writing, and others imitated him, and they so accustomed their readers to that style that they would bear nothing else. * * * * I want to bring home to others, what every new observation of society brings more and more freshly to myself—that this unconscious imitation and encouragement of appreciated character, and this equally unconscious shrinking from and persecution of disliked character, is the main force which moulds and fashions men in society as we now see it. The more acknowledged causes, such as change of climate, alteration of political institutions, progress of science, act principally through this cause; they change the object of imitation and the object of avoidance, and so work their effect."

In this he is no doubt partly right, but falls short of the whole truth, as every one must, who attempts to account for the changes in nations, or in the human race, without taking into account the great spiritual forces which are ceaselessly at work in the world in a silent but powerful way. A nation changes radically in a comparatively short time, and without any adequate cause; shall we attribute this to the example of a few conspicuous individuals who diverge from the beaten track? If so, how account for the fact that, by the side of the nation which is undergoing this rapid evolution, are one, two or three others, in equally favorable conditions, and with an equally capable populace, who during the same period of time make no perceptible change? And, granting that this change is due to imitation; what impels these leaders of society in a given direction, and what gives to the nation the impulse to follow them? To answer this, we shall have to look more deeply beneath the surface than Mr. Bagehot allows us, and say that there is a spiritual power operating upon that nation, impelling its leaders in a given direction, and impelling the people to follow after. The reason why one nation is chosen as a medium of this occult force, and another is left to pursue its customary routine, is one of the secrets which belong to that Providence which controls the destiny of men and nations.

In considering this point further, we may allude to one of Mr. Bagehot's conclusions, which, however paradoxical it may appear at first sight, can not be easily controverted; and that is, that taking the world as a whole, among nations stagnation is the rule and progress the exception. And further, that in the history of the world retrocession is quite as common as progression. It is hardly necessary to allude to Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Saracenic Empire, and other similar examples in illustration of the decay of national civilization; or to many Asiatic and African countries at the present day, as furnishing abundant examples of entire races of men who have made no perceptible advance for thousands of years. The reason of this difference Mr. Bagehot does not adequately explain; and perhaps nothing but the action of the spiritual forces to which we have alluded can afford a sufficient cause for such inexplicable phenomena. But Mr. Bagehot here and there drops a hint which, though he does not follow it to the same conclusion as we do, may throw some light on the causes of such changes. Speaking of the influence of religion on the formation of national character, while denying that the unity of Church and State is, according to Dr. Arnold, the best thing for modern society, he admits that in an earlier age it was both necessary and excellent. And following the thought further, he says that what he terms "the fortifying religions, that is, those which lay the plainest stress on the manly parts of morality—upon valor, or truth and industry—have had plainly the most obvious effect in strengthening the races which believed them, and in making those races the winning races."

In this admission lies, as we think, the key to all progress among nations. While we shall have to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the spiritual powers of the universe, in the matter of great national changes and improvements, we can see that their most effective methods of working have ever been through the religious element in human nature. And here we may say, that we consider religion as essentially and fundamentally the medium of progress in the world. We hold that no great and permanent improvement can be made without it, on any national scale; although we are ready to admit that it often takes forms which are unacceptable to a rigid orthodoxy, and that the name and pretense of religion are often used to retard progress and quench the spread of truth. What we mean by religion is not the narrow manifestations which crystallize into sects and creeds, and meager, restricted forms of belief, but that broad, expansive influence which the Creator pours into the world, stimulating every one toward a better life, and a higher quality of personal character. This influence will just as certainly promote improvement in all the useful arts—in science, and in general intelligence, as in individual character; for the two go hand in hand, and as the individual improves, his surroundings and external advantages will grow apace.

We see the operation of this influence in a very marked manner upon the first nation of which history gives us any account. Abraham was a wandering Arab Sheik, in nowise distinguishable from hundreds of his fellows, except in the susceptibility to divine influence. This susceptibility he seems to have bequeathed to his descendants: they grew into the Jewish nation, became the representatives of the religious element in the world, and their progress culminated in the glory and refinement of Solomon. Here is a distinct example of the civilizing effect of religion, in starting a nation on a course of improvement which only ceased when that nation lost their primitive afflatus, and failed to be receptive to the original influence. So powerful is the operation of this force as a civilizing agency, that history affords us abundant examples of a religion full of errors, yet possessing the power of leading men out of barbarism into comparative civilization. We hold that this power is not yet exhausted, but is still at work; although Mr. Bagehot, while he frankly recognizes its effects in the earlier ages,

is not so ready to do justice to its present results.

Mr. Bagehot inclines to the belief that the change from stagnation to progress comes with the right of free discussion. Discussion, he says, quenches violent action—there is less persecution and less intolerance—less inclination on the part of any individual to consider his own opinion as absolute. He calls the present time the age of discussion, and the ruling power in the most advanced nations government by discussion. There is certainly a good deal of truth in this, but still the inquiry suggests itself, How did discussion begin? We can see that when free discussion is once started, it will spread; but what is the cause that so modified an age of intolerance as to allow discussion to begin? It is like the old quandary: warm weather will not come till the snow is off the mountains, and the snow will not melt off the mountains till it is warm weather. Here is an apparent deadlock, and yet we know that summer will surely come, and the snow will disappear. In order to solve the problem we shall have to resort again to our doctrine of spiritual forces, and assert that the preparation for and predisposition to free discussion is brought about by the silent action of these influences upon the hearts of a nation, quietly and gradually bringing them into a condition where a great advance is possible, and preparing the soil for further growth. The arguments which Mr. Bagehot advances are purely rationalistic; and probably he would not admit that any conclusions could be drawn from them which incline to the supernatural; yet we find it not difficult to see in them material to confirm our belief in the operation of invisible agencies on the world.

The question how to keep down the surplus population, Mr. Bagehot thinks will in time regulate itself. Numbers are a power in any nation, yet the greater the number on a limited territory the harder the work of self-support. And further, in proportion as the individual becomes refined and intellectual he loses his power of procreation; and the ranks of a nation are filled from the lower classes. This is an evil, but one which Mr. Bagehot thinks will be overcome by the general elevation of the entire people, to such an extent that the law which restricts the more highly cultivated from propagating largely will act upon the whole nation. That this will be the final result, we have every reason to hope; but that it will come about without the operation of a great deal of intelligent self-control, we doubt. At least, if left to the action of natural forces alone, a very long period of time must inevitably elapse before such effects will be perceptible.

There are one or two more interesting points in this book, to which our space will only allow us to barely allude. "Somehow or other," says our author, "civilization does not make men effeminate now as it once did. There is an improvement in our fibre—moral, if not physical." This is encouraging and true. In respect to the efforts of philanthropists to benefit the human race he is not hopeful. "The most melancholy of human reflections, perhaps," he says, "is that, on the whole, it is a question whether the benevolence of mankind does most good or harm. Great good, no doubt, philanthropy does, but then it does great evil. It augments so much vice, it multiplies so much suffering, it brings to life such great populations to suffer and to be vicious, that it is open to argument whether it be or be not an evil to the world." We are not quite ready to adopt this bit of pessimistic philosophy, while admitting that there is good ground for the question which is raised as to the efforts of many would-be benefactors of the race.

The tribute which Mr. Bagehot pays to the advantage of coöperation is emphatic, as that of every student of political economy must be. "The progress of *man*," he says, "requires the coöperation of *men* for its development. That which any one man or any one family could invent for themselves is obviously exceedingly limited, and even if this were not true, isolated progress could never be traced. The rudest sort of coöperative society, the lowest tribe and the feeblest government, is so much stronger than isolated man, that isolated man (if he ever existed in any shape which could be called man) might very easily have ceased to exist. The first principle of the subject is that man can only make progress in 'coöperative groups;' I might say tribes and nations, but I use the less common word because few people would at once see that tribes and nations are coöperative groups, and that it is their being so which makes their value; that unless you can make a strong coöperative bond your society will be conquered and killed out by some other society which has such a bond; and the second principle is, that the members of such a group should be similar enough to one another to coöperate easily and readily together. The coöperation in all such cases depends on a *felt union* of heart and spirit; and this is only felt when there is a great degree of real likeness in mind and feeling, however that likeness may have been attained." That is to say, that the closer and more vital the form of coöperation, the stronger will be the society, and in the struggle for existence it will dominate all others. We need only extend the argument a very little to show, that as a nation with a compact form of government is stronger than a band of savages, so the increased concentration which forms what we call Communities or Coöperative Societies, in the popular sense, gives to such bodies a strength and vital force that is wanting in the looser forms of ordinary society. A people, says Mr. Bagehot, is powerful just in proportion to the compactness of their organization. If this is so, then complete Communism, which is certainly the most compact form of organization yet known, will produce the strongest of all existing organizations. And if we are likely to have a surplus population which will render the struggle for existence more severe and intense than heretofore, then the portion of the race most likely to survive will be those who have the strength of these powerful organizations to aid them. If such a deluge is to come upon us, Communism will be an ark of safety to all who, like Noah of old, have that celestial forethought which will inspire them to prepare their refuge in season to escape the rising waters.

EFFECTUAL REFORM.

To the Editors of the American Socialist:—I beg to thank you for your kind notice of my book on Effectual Reform, in the American Socialist of the 11th of April. And will you allow me to say that I think there is not so much difference of opinion between us as to the causes of evil and of good in man as may appear at first sight? I should object as strongly as you would to the statement that the mere reception by man of the knowledge of the fundamental truth or truism, that the formation of man's character and his determinations is dependent in the first place upon internal and external conditions, will develop his moral nature. When I say that it is in consequence of ignorance or the denial or disregard of this fundamental truth that men are selfish, etc., and that the knowledge of this truth will be the root-cause of good in man, I do not mean to deny the existence and the vital importance of the instincts of benevolence, conscientiousness, etc., or the innate social and religious feelings of humanity, which may be called the "invisible world." And if any persons prefer to consider that these instincts are the root-cause of good in man, and that the knowledge referred to is the means by which men will be enabled to develop this root-cause of good in themselves and to call forth its development in others, and if they prefer to consider that the want of knowledge of the fundamental truth and the denial of it are the means by which the beneficial development of these instincts is prevented, instead of calling them the root-cause of evil, these ideas will be the same in effect as mine.

And I do not say that the mere reception of the knowledge referred to is enough. It is also necessary that men should know the *application* of this knowledge, and should *apply* it in the regulation of their social feelings and conduct, as I have stated very emphatically in pages 39–43. The personal agency of the individual, therefore, commonly called the exercise of "the will," is a necessary adjunct.

Nor should I say that "to induce every one to do to others as they would have others do to them it is only necessary that persons should possess the knowledge that by so doing they will most thoroughly minister to their own happiness." This would be to appeal to the instinct of self-love alone. We desire to call forth man's personal agency in the development of his higher instincts. These are a "positive power of good" in man. And we desire to cause "men's hearts to be taken possession of by these deeper and more potent influences." It is to these that we appeal when we apply the fundamental truth in the regulation of our social feelings and conduct—when we consider that unkindness is unjust, *because* the formation of man's character and his determinations is dependent in the first place upon internal and external conditions. And, as I have described, the efficacy of the means proposed has been practically verified by those who have fairly tried them. It was demonstrated in Mr. Owen, whose character of devotion to the good of humanity was formed by this application; and it has been experienced by many of his followers; and the influence of this knowledge will be increased by the perception of the fact, denied by Mr. Owen, that man must be a personal agent in the producing of the desired result—that the desired improvement of character is *not* to be acquired "independently of himself," or "without any efforts of his," or "for him and not by him." But there is no harm in strengthening the appeal to these positive powers of good by appealing at the same time to the instinct of self-love, and making this our ally in developing the higher nature by pointing out that, when the social and religious feelings are duly developed they will not only harmonize with the desire of our own happiness, but will very powerfully promote the satisfaction of this less noble but more fundamental part of our constitution. "Give," said Jesus, "and it shall be given unto you."

And it is not alone in the application of the fundamental truth in developing the higher instincts of our nature that the knowledge of this truth is peculiarly important. It is immensely important also as a guide to the discovery of the causes by which evil has been produced, and of those from which good will proceed in the formation of character, and in the determination of conduct, and in social affairs generally. For while we do not clearly perceive that man's character and conduct are dependent upon conditions, we can not even begin to try intelligently to ascertain the conditions or causes upon which they are dependent.

I think, then, that when the points which I have referred to are considered, we shall find that while perhaps your views and mine may not be alike upon some theological or spiritual points, they are sufficiently alike for practice in reference to the great truths respecting the formation of character, etc.

Again I beg to thank you for your kindly criticism. Such criticism is extremely useful in giving suggestive hints to assist in the explanation of the supremely important subjects in which we are both so deeply interested.

Henry Travis.

INDUSTRIAL HOME COMPANY.

Ionia, Fairfax Co., Va., April 28, 1878.

Editors of American Socialist:—Perhaps some of your readers would be interested in hearing how we are getting along at our new home on the Potomac. I am glad to be able to say that we are prospering well so far, and that our prospects for the future are very flattering. Our pioneer party of twelve persons arrived here on the 23d of March, and having set our house in order commenced planting early vegetables. Since then we have been joined by four others, and now have a family of sixteen persons, nearly all young farmers. We found one hundred acres of the farm under the plow, and have been plowing and planting most of the time since, and must continue in this line for sometime to come. We are just now in the midst of corn planting, and shall cultivate forty acres of corn this season; have forty acres in winter wheat and rye, and twenty acres in garden and other crops. The prospect for fruit is very promising. The strawberry vines have green fruit on them nearly full grown; the currants are also nearly full grown; the cherries, of which we have more than fifty trees, are well filled with fruit that will soon be ripe; the pear trees are so loaded with fruit that two-thirds of it must be removed to prevent breaking down the trees. There are about one hundred of these trees. The fifteen hundred peach trees on the place will produce a moderate crop, having been injured slightly by late frost. There are nearly five thousand young apple trees on the place, about one-third of them bearing, and they promise a large yield of fruit—the apples being now about the size of buck shot, and very numerous.

We have a fine farm of three hundred acres of level bottom land on the river bank, every rod of which can be cultivated under the plow. Manures by the boat-load from the city can be landed on the borders of the field for eighty-five cents per load, and there is no reason why all this land should not be put in the highest state of cultivation at small cost. There is a great number of young fruit trees just beginning to bear, with grapes and berries in abundance. There are sheep, cattle, horses, farming tools and furniture for a large family, and these are all paid for. We owe nothing. The managers are most of them successful business men of means, with excellent reputations, and are heartily in earnest in carrying on this enterprise; and if we do not make a success it will be the fault of the working members. There has never been such an opportunity for a pleasant, successful unitary home to be established, with no undesirable features about it, as this. There is room and opportunity for more earnest workers of the right sort to help make, for themselves and others, the most pleasant and comfortable

home to be found in the world, and every person who feels interested in the success of such a movement as this should make an effort at this time and help build it up. If they let this opportunity pass it may be years before another like it will present itself. We shall have room and work for one hundred members in a few months, and are receiving inquiries from all parts of the country daily, from those who are dissatisfied with their present condition and are looking anxiously for something better. Respectfully yours,

JOEL A. H. ELLIS, Sup't.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 9, 1878.

IT is with pleasure that we acknowledge the receipt of $8.00 from MR. WILLIAM ROWE for the benefit of such readers of the SOCIALIST as find it difficult or impossible, in the present hard times, to pay the subscription. This is practical Communism.

MIXED.

Communism is one of the subjects newspaper writers can not let alone. Every one who contributes to the columns of a paper, of whatever form or character, whether daily or weekly, religious or secular, Republican or Democratic, independent or on the fence, must fire his gun at Communism from time to time. There is no special harm done, and we mention the fact not to find fault with it. It keeps the subject fresh in the public mind, and so does some good. Some of the papers maintain a running fire on Communism; and one of the Boston weeklies—the *Index*—appears to have one editorial writer who gives his chief attention to this important subject. His productions are not favorable to Communism, but his articles are carefully watched and sharply criticised by the Socialists who contribute to the *Index*, and who thus far appear to have had the best of the argument every time. The only special fault we find with his articles is that they are misleading. The writer may not intend it, but every time he attempts to make things clear he makes them obscure and confused. For example, the number of the *Index* for May 2d has an article from his pen on the "History of Communism," which strings together the names of persons who have been conspicuous in the advocacy of theories looking to the improvement or reörganization of society like so many beads on a rosary, without even taking the pains to say they are of different colors, and without taking the trouble to mention some names of great importance, such as St. Simon. Jesus of Nazareth and Robespierre, Pierre Leroux and Karl Marx, the Essenes and the Anabaptists, Babeuf and Fourier, are to this writer all links in the same chain. The only reason why the Frenchmen who murdered the Archbishop of Paris in 1871 are not included in the same category is that another article was required to do them justice.

Fortunately, the same issue of the *Index* contains an article from one of its contributors which shows that the editorial writer of the *Index* confounds things which do not belong together; that there is no ground for classing such Communism as has been practically exemplified in the peaceful Societies which have existed in the United States for more than four-score years with their French namesakes. It would have been equally easy to have shown that the Communism of Jesus and the Primitive Christians was a wholly different thing from any form of compulsory Communism which has since obtained. And every body ought to know that the theories of such men as Babeuf were an utter abomination to the mind of Fourier; yet this writer informs us that Fourier simply "improved upon the efforts" of Babeuf, Mably and Morelly "to perfect a practical scheme of social life!"

But there is ground for encouragement. The distinctions which exist and have been clearly pointed out between the different kinds of Communism—distinctions so broad and radical that they can not properly be classed under the same genus or order even—are accepted by many intelligent writers and must erelong be universally recognized. Meanwhile we commend to the consideration of the obscurantists the following passage from an article on "American Communism" in the *New York Graphic*: "Few subjects have been more talked about and written about within the last few years than Communism, and, it may be added, few subjects have given rise to such *a magnificent display of ignorance* on the part of both speakers and writers. If these well-meaning but mistaken persons had taken the pains to inform themselves fully in regard to Communism they might have saved themselves a great deal of foolish and unnecessary trouble and the country much needless alarm."

"POLITICAL" AND "SOCIAL" COMMUNISM.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Referring to my letter on "Three Mis-used and Ab-used Words," copied from the *Boston Commonwealth* into the SOCIALIST of April 25th, and to your note on the two derivations of the term "Communism"—I can not see any essential difference between the Latin and the French significations. They both deny individual rights of property; they both suppress individual emulation or competition; they are both repressive of individual development and independence.

Nor can I see any distinction between "Political and Social Communists." To me, *political* and *social*, except in their merely conventional use, are synonymous terms. Will you please define the difference that you think exists?

W. G. H. SMART.

MR. SMART'S article on "Three Mis-used and Ab-used Words" showed that much mischief is done by misapplying and confounding the words *Radicalism*, *Agrarianism* and *Communism*—"partly from prejudice, and partly from a loose habit that most people have of using words without attaching any definite ideas to them;" and he makes it reasonably clear, that Social Democracy, while having some features akin to Communism, is neither Agrarian nor Communistic. To our mind equal mischief is done in confounding the different kinds of Communism. MR. SMART says in his *Commonwealth* article, that "there are many varieties of Socialism and Socialists," and among these varieties we think should be clearly distinguished "political" and "social" Communism. They may have some characteristics in common, as our correspondent says, but not *all* by any means, and they widely diverge in their methods. Political Communists seek to establish Communistic conditions in society through legislative means, and for this reason aim to control the government. Social Communists seek to establish Communistic conditions in Society without legislative enactment or direct political aid, by methods of individual development and education. The political Communists, especially in France, have manifested at different times a purpose to enforce Communism upon all classes at whatever cost of life and property. The social Communists recognize the fact that men must grow into better social conditions, and discard all idea of compulsion. We think, too, it is plain from the lexicographies that Communism in the French sense has primarily a political signification, coming as it does from the word *commune*, which means a small territorial division, though both forms of Communism have undoubtedly obtained in France. It seems also at least probable that the Latin root of the word Community has primarily a more social signification, but this is not perhaps altogether clear. We will not insist on it. We only insist that there are different kinds of Communism, and that the kind which is altogether peaceful and voluntary in its character and methods, and free from all political aspirations and entanglements, shall not be confounded with that kind which allies itself with political parties and allows, if it does not favor, violent and compulsory measures; and in making this distinction clear to the general public we hope for the assistance of MR. SMART.—ED. AM. SOC.

IMPORTED RIGHTEOUSNESS.

We publish in the present number a letter from DR. HENRY TRAVIS, literary executor of ROBERT OWEN of Socialistic fame, giving some idea of the agencies by which he supposes human character may be improved, so as to be prepared for that highest form of social life, Communism. We have already noticed, in somewhat favorable terms, the variation made by DR. TRAVIS in the philosophy of his master, and have no wish to engage in any argument with him; but we will take advantage of the occasion which his article gives us to present briefly our own ideas on the important subject of changes in character. The agencies which may be relied upon in this work we divide into four classes:

First, *hereditary transmission.* By proper attention to the principles of this force each succeeding generation may advance upon the attainments of its ancestors.

Second, *individual efforts for improvement.* Every man of purpose and good impulses improves his character by learning the lessons of his own experience as he progresses in life.

These two agencies may be called *personal*, because they belong primarily to the individual.

Third, character may be improved by *persons availing themselves of the knowledge and experience of others*—by reading, conversation, and by all the methods in which men become acquainted with the lessons learned by other people—the results of universal experience, past and present.

Fourth, character may be improved by *spiritual transmission.* This is more particularly the religious method. The process of its action is akin to that of contagion. It becomes a mighty agency of improving character when we enter into the fellowship of invisible personages such as Christ, Paul and the Primitive Church. It is recorded that Christ healed the sick by laying his hands upon them, and it is at least supposable that corresponding marvels may be wrought in the moral health of those who are so fortunate as to enjoy his personal fellowship. We know that wonders of this kind are sometimes effected by the fellowship of visible human beings, and if Jesus is only as wise and noble a being as is admitted even by those who do not recognize in him the Christ of God, intimate fellowship with him would still be a powerful agency of personal improvement. The principle involved in such fellowship is of course applicable to the fellowships of all beings, visible and invisible, who are better and wiser than ourselves.

The two agencies of improving character last mentioned may be termed *social*, in distinction from the two first named, which were called *personal.*

If it be inquired, Which of these four means of improvement is most important? we should reply: They are all important; but if a distinction must be made between them we are of the opinion that the last named, or spiritual transmission, is by far the most important. It is by this means chiefly, we conceive, that the sudden and great modifications of character which are necessary to Communism are to take place in individuals and society, so soon as the channels of transmission are perfected. We believe, indeed, that there are in the heavens above us immense reservoirs, so to speak, of good character, that may be made available to present and future generations. No single generation is to bring in the millennium by its own unaided efforts; all past generations will contribute to it; they are still alive, still actively interested in the affairs of this world; and what is needed, to avail ourselves of all the discoveries and attainments they have made in moral and social life, is to open free channels of intercourse and fellowship with them.

The great hope of mankind undoubtedly is that the cumulative force of experience will at last overcome folly and make virtue natural and universal. But it is not necessary that every individual should go through every form of experience. We may avail ourselves of the experience of others and the wisdom they have gained from it, and not only of our friends and associates in this world, but in the invisible world.

The evolutionists recognize the principle of change as applied to mankind and society, but only of changes that are infinitesimally small in degree and in point of time comparable to the processes by which the earth's rocks have been formed through the gradual deposits of the ages. Christianity proposes to greatly expedite these processes of change by means of spiritual transmission—by establishing mediums of communication between heaven and earth, so that heavenly influences may have free play upon human character in this world.

Every body knows that we may to a considerable extent avail ourselves of each other's experience. When an acquaintance or friend learns useful lessons by some peculiar experience and communicates them to us, if we are wise we learn the lessons also, and without the trouble of going through the experience itself. It is only children in years and wisdom who insist on finding out every thing at their own expense, and will take nothing on trust. Hence the immense importance we attach to Spiritualism and the discoveries of the laws of communication with invisible spheres. In the larger sense we shall all be children and fools until we find a way to get the benefit of the experiences of all who have preceded us, and not merely such benefits as we can derive from historical records, but rather of all the secret, internal attainments that have been made in the development of human character.

In all this we assume the fact of post-mortal existence, and can not expect those who deny the possibility of such after-life to take any interest in these speculations.

As religionists and as Socialists we desire that improvement in human character should progress far more rapidly than it has done in the past ages, and our hope of realizing this aspiration rests mainly on our expectation that new and improved channels of communication with the spiritual world will be established. We care comparatively little about the common marvels of spirit-communication. It matters little that persons learn that their dead relatives are enjoying themselves in the summer-land; it would avail little to behold their visible forms. What is needed is communication with the best beings in the invisible world, and such communication as will enable us to enter into practical Com-

munism with them, so that their victories, their progress, their development of the highest and noblest elements of human character, shall in some measure be transmitted to us and become a part of our inheritance and possession. As we read the Bible this is feasible, and the great object of Christ's mission was to open and establish such communication; and as we read the signs of the time, we are now entering the dispensation of its more complete realization. And if so, then we may reasonably anticipate immense and rapid changes in our world—changes analogous in some respects to those now taking place in Japan as the result of her intercourse with more enlightened nations. The Japanese don't have to repeat all the experiences by which Europeans have made their great achievements in the arts and sciences. They obtain the railroad and the telegraph at once, as the direct results of opening intercourse with the Western nations. So it will be with the most civilized of the world's peoples when they establish free commerce with the heavenly world: they will receive as immediate blessings the attainments of all past ages and generations.

But these blessings will pertain, we think, especially to changes in character; for these are what the world most needs. The incomparable prizes of fellowship, brotherhood, unity of interests and Communal life, are all dependent, for their attainment, upon great transformations of character. We may behold in the distance these prizes and long for them with agonies of hope, but they will forever mock our desires unless new and more powerful agencies can be brought to bear upon individual character—such as shall really make men and women new beings, purged of self and all its belongings. And according to our view these changes are to come from above, by the railroad of prayer. The will of God is to be "done on earth as it is in heaven" by our importing civilization direct from heaven and in enormous quantities. Thus the longing for Communism, which is rising like a tidal wave, will at last find itself to be, as indeed it is preördained to be, a longing for heaven—a hungering for the heart of God.

READ AGAIN.

Manchester, Eng., April 17, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST: On page 109 of your paper you counsel observance of bad laws. I think the maiden sisters are right, and that their protest against taxation without representation is not "abortive" or "futile." What do you say to this case? To-day I hear that a friend of mine has been sent to prison for the *ninth* time for non-vaccination of his children. His name is Charles Washington Nye, of Chatham. See *Anti-Vaccination Reporter*. It is impossible to obey a law demanding the poisoning of our children's blood.

HENRY PITMAN.

If you will turn again to page 109 you will find that our counsel was not intended to have a universal application; that we specially excepted all cases "where any point of vital morality is involved;" and if we believed as you do, that the vaccination of our children could only be effected at the risk of "poisoning their blood," we should regard the case you put as one of the exceptions. We counseled obedience to existing laws, not involving questions of vital morality, rather than defiance of them—while striving to secure the enactment of better laws, and protesting against their injustice—because we believe this course is the wisest and will soonest bring public opinion and the laws (which are only its legalized expression) into conformity with the highest standard ofequity and morality.—ED. AM. SOC.

THE QUESTION OF IMMORTALITY.

EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I see you miss the central point of Mrs. Woodhull's doctrine of the conquest of death, which I quoted in your last paper. It was this: that to come into the resurrection "a human being must *attain a Spiritualized Materiality*, such as Spirits will take on when they return." All that she says previous to this, in the passage quoted, is in the way of cumulative illustration and definition. Materialization, she holds, has not been perfected; resurrection has not been perfected. But the advancing efforts of the spirits of the departed to return, on the one hand, and the fact, on the other hand, that the developments of trance-mediumship show that the spirits of the living may leave the body, and enter spiritual realms, makes it evident that both spheres are moving toward each other. Mrs. Woodhull assumes that when "the final union has occurred; when spirits become materialized, and human beings become spiritualized, *the bodies in which both shall appear will be of the same etherealized material.*" It seems to me that this concluding statement substantially meets the Malthusian condition you demand; viz., a method of transit from this world to the other, by which "the bodies which require food for their support shall be actually taken away, either by death as at present or by actual de-materialization." A body that has become "spiritualized," or taken on "spiritual materiality," must be as independent of outward food as one that has been "de-materialized." It has taken on powers which make it a citizen of both worlds.

The best illustration of the resurrection body is seen in the case of Christ, as reported in the Gospels. His body did not see corruption, but, even after the dread separation of a violent death, was again repossessed by the overwhelming power of his spiritual life, *spiritualized* and conformed to the conditions of interior, invisible existence. Yet Christ after this great change could manifest himself in bodily form to his disciples and could eat and drink and talk with them. For the space of forty days he was coming and going between the two worlds, showing his victorious existence on both shores. Although when visible he could and did eat the broiled fish and the honey-comb which his disciples gave him, it is evident that he was not dependent on food thus obtained; for when, on another occasion, after the great draught of fishes, made under his directions, his disciples came to the shore, they "*saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread.*" "And Jesus said unto them, Come and dine." He who had power to change his own body to inter-world conditions had also power to materialize a fire of coals and food for his disciples. And it is worthy of note in this connection that even before his death and resurrection he was independent of the Malthusian laws of food supply. He knew how to feed five thousand people "with five barley loaves and two small fishes," and another similar multitude with "seven loaves and a few little fishes"—many baskets full of the food he had improvised remaining uneaten at the end of the repasts.

I know it is fashionable for the modern Positivists and scientific materialists to discredit these old histories. But real scientific and spiritualistic research at the present time is adding cumulative evidence of their possible and probable truthfulness. The more that is learned of the molecular and ethereal universe, on the one hand, and of the powers of human life and of the spiritual universe, on the other, the more possible and reasonable and natural does such a life as the one outlined in the Gospels appear. If such a life was once lived; if such a conquest of death was once gained, as is there recorded, then they may be repeated. And he who lived that life and won that victory can help others to a like career and a similar victory. Is it not worth while to test the possibility of such a repetition by the most earnest and faithful experiment? Does human science in all its wide range offer a greater or more momentous problem to solve?

It strikes me, however, that the discovery of a method of transit from this world to the other, independent of death—or the reöpening of an old one which has fallen into disuse since Apostolic days—with its concomitant of angel-food supply, would knock the bottom out of Malthusianism, and place the Population Question on an entirely new basis. With a well-established outlet for population to superior realms, by a process not destructive but life-giving—not disintegrating but perfecting—then it is evident that the control of population would be sought for, not to avoid over-population and its dismal train of woes, but for the purpose of *breeding only for immortality*. The union of the two worlds would revise our public opinion and civilization, and children would be begotten and bred not merely by chance, or to satisfy human passion and desire, but to meet intelligent, organic demands from the higher life spheres.

T. L. P.

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

VII.

Dr. Whately, in his Elements of Rhetoric, takes up the very common idea that appealing to the passions is an *unfair* method of persuasion, and shows that it is a prejudice and not a rational idea. His argument has an interesting bearing on our subject, and we are inclined to present it.

He first shows that the orator appeals in vain to the reason alone. Reason alone never influences the will, or operates as a motive. A ship may be provided with a compass, but it can not sail without a wind. Reason is the compass, but the feelings are the wind. It seems to be assumed, he says, that whenever the feelings are excited they are of course *over-excited*, while the truth is men generally are less in danger of being misled by excess of feeling than by the reverse. The more generous feelings, such as compassion, gratitude, veneration, nay, even rational and rightly-directed self-love, hope and fear, are oftener defective than excessive, and a good man is frequently ashamed of the coldness and languor of his feelings compared with what occasions call for, and makes efforts to arouse himself to such emotions as are fitting and his reason approves. Why it is not always an easy thing to do, Dr. Whately goes on to explain:

"In making such an effort, a curious and important fact is forced on the attention of every one who reflects on the operations of his own mind; viz., that the feelings, propensities, and sentiments of our nature are not, like the intellectual faculties, under the direct control of volition. The distinction is much the same as between the voluntary and the involuntary actions of different parts of the body. One may, by a deliberate act of the will, set himself to calculate—to reason—to recall historical facts, etc., just as he does to move any of his limbs: on the other hand, a volition to hope or fear, to love or hate, to feel devotion or pity, and the like, is as ineffectual as to will that the pulsations of the heart, or the secretions of the liver, should be altered. Some indeed are, I believe (strange as it would seem), not aware of the total inefficacy of their own efforts of volition in such cases: that is, they mistake for a *feeling* of gratitude, compassion, etc., their voluntary *reflections* on the subject, and their *conviction* that the case is one which *calls* for gratitude or compassion. A very moderate degree of attention, however, to what is passing in the mind, will enable any one to perceive the difference. A blind man may be fully convinced that a soldier's coat is of a different color from a coal; and this his conviction is not more distinct from a perception of the colors, than a *belief* that some one is *very much to be pitied*, from a *feeling of pity* for him."

Here we have a new correspondence. The emotions are involuntary, and they spring from a center which is the center also of a system of nerves that control the involuntary motions of the body. On the other hand, mental operations are comparatively voluntary, and we trace them to the brain, which is the center of a system of nerves that control the voluntary motions of the body. The succeeding paragraph of our author suggests another correspondence, that is, the mutual dependence of the intellectual and emotional natures, agreeing with that between the two nervous systems. It shows how the intellect subserves the heart by exciting it to proper action while it would be easy to show, on the other hand, that the constant, involuntary influence of the heart upon the intellect is more important even than the voluntary influence which the intellect is able to exert on the heart. We quote the paragraph:

"How is this difficulty [the involuntary nature of our feelings] to be surmounted?—Good sense suggests, in each case, an analogous remedy. It is in vain to form a will to quicken or lower the circulation; but we may, by a voluntary act, swallow a medicine which will have that effect: and so also, though we can not, by a *direct* effort of volition, excite or allay any sentiment or emotion, we may, by a voluntary act, fill the understanding with such thoughts as shall operate on the feelings. Thus, by attentively studying and meditating on the history of some extraordinary personage—by contemplating and dwelling on his actions and sufferings—his virtues and his wisdom—and by calling on the imagination to present a vivid picture of all that is related and referred to—in this manner, we may at length succeed in kindling such feelings, suppose, of reverence, admiration, gratitude, love, hope, emulation, etc., as we were already prepared to acknowledge are suitable to the case. So again, if a man of sense wishes to *allay* in himself any emotion, that of resentment, for instance, though it is not under the direct control of the will, he deliberately sets himself to *reflect* on the softening circumstances, such as the provocations the other party may suppose himself to have received; perhaps, his ignorance, or weakness, or disordered state of health:—he endeavors to imagine himself in the place of the offending party;—and above all, if he is a Christian, he meditates on the parable of the debtor, who, after having been himself forgiven, claimed payment with rigid severity from his fellow-servant; and on similar lessons of Scripture. Now in any such process as this (which is exactly analogous to that of taking a medicine which is to operate on the involuntary bodily organs), a process to which a man of well-regulated mind continually finds occasion to resort, he is precisely acting the part of a skillful orator to himself; and that, too, in respect to the very point to which the most invidious names are usually given, 'the appeal to the feelings.'"

Dr. Whatley's simile of a *ship* is used by Dr. Bushnell with varying details, but with the same object, to show what an error men make in their relative estimate of the head and heart. He is saying that ministerial talent, for instance, is estimated by the head, but if he were to choose a preacher for himself, holding the question as a mere question of talent, he should first of all inquire into the talent of his heart, whether that light is in him which shines only into the heart, etc., and proceeds to justifies his position thus:

"In this matter of head and heart, you may figure the head

or understanding, it seems to me, as being that little plate of wood hung upon the stern of the vessel, that very small helm by which the ship is turned about whithersoever the governor listeth. But the heart is the full deep body of the ship itself, with its sails lifted to the breath of a divine inspiration, containing in itself the wealth, the joy, and all the adventuring passions, wants, and fears of the soul. In a certain superficial sense, you may say that the helm is every thing, because, by that, so great a body is so bravely steered and turned about in the sea. And the man at the helm may fancy, too, that he is the moving and directing cause of all. But look again, and you shall see how foolish a thing this little piece of wood may be; for when the wind sleeps, when the great heart of the ship receives no inspiring breath, then how idly does it swing from side to side, as a vain and silly thing. It is by the love of the heart only that we know God. Here is all inspiration, all true motion and power. And when the great heart of faith is not parting the waves of life before it, and rushing on to its haven, the busy understanding is but a vain and idle thing, swinging round and round with an addled motion, whose actions and reäctions are equal, and which, therefore, profit nothing."

We have talked with the Physiologist and Mesmerist about our mystery at the pit of the stomach; in this chapter the Rhetorician and Theologian instruct us.

REVIEW NOTES.

A Labor Catechism of Political Economy. A Study for the People. Comprising the Principal Arguments for and against the prominent declarations of the Industrial Party, requiring that the State assume Control of Industries. By Osborne Ward, New York, 1878. pp. 220.

This book is intended to explain clearly and fully the principles of the Labor Party. In executing this task the author has adopted the Socratic method, and fortunately, we think. It is difficult to make two hundred pages of continuous argument on the Labor Problem interesting to the common reader. For the measure of success which Mr. Ward has attained we think he is indebted in part to the method he has pursued. He gives us, after his introductory argument:

1. A conversation between a delegation from several United Trades, the object of which is to show how well every thing will work in society and Government when all industries shall be controlled for the benefit of the people.

2. A conversation showing that Government workshops, "by affording impartial employment for any member of society," would save society from the annoyance of intrusive beggars and marauding tramps.

3. A conversation showing the hypocrisies of competitive deal, and the honesty and efficiency which will result under the new system.

4. A colloquy between Members of a College Faculty and an advocate of the Labor Movement, on the Merits of the Labor Conflict.

5. A dialogue with a Deputy from a Protective Union of Tradesmen—showing "similarities of object residing in trade and political unions of workingmen."

6. A discussion with an Editor on the duties of the newspaper.

7. A discussion between members of the Industrial Party and of an Association of the iron and metal trades, showing why railroads, canals, rapid-transit routes and telegraph lines should belong to the public instead of individuals.

8. A colloquy between an Advocate of a Political Party and a Conservative Doctor of Laws, concerning politico-industrial organization.

9. The political phases of the rising question of Land and Time—Dialogue between Dwellers upon farms and in cities, foreshadowing an ominous crisis.

10. Working People the tax-payers; duties of political organizations controlling public works—Debate between members of old political parties and an attorney for the movement of labor.

The object of the author in all these debates is to make the strongest plea he can in favor of the positions of the new Industrial Party, and especially to make it clear that every principle of justice and humanity are on its side; we can not say that he has always succeeded in this, and we can by no means indorse all his positions; but he has certainly succeeded in bringing together a strong array of fact and argument, and made a book that will be of much value to the advocates of the measures of the new party. The book is published by the author—address, 610 Bergen St., Brooklyn, N. Y. Price bound, $1.00; in pamphlet cover 30 cts.

Mr. Ward is a lecturer as well as a writer on the labor question, and he offers to deliver a lecture free wherever persons will purchase a sufficient number of his books to defray his expenses to and from the place of meeting. Typographically, the "Labor Catechism" has some imperfections, which we trust will disappear from future editions.

Revolution: The Reörganization of our Social System inevitable. An Address by Wm. N. Slocum before the Anti-Monopoly Association. San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 24, 1878. Published by the author, San Francisco, Cal.

This pamphlet is a strong argument for the abolition of all monopolies of what it calls "natural resources," and the reörganization of the social system. It treats from the stand-point of the Labor-Reformers such topics as "Causes of the Hard Times," "What is Property?" "Property in Land," "Who Obtain the Wealth?" "Who are the poor?" "Paternal Government," "Usury," "Rent," etc. If it limited itself to the discussion of these subjects we should have little fault to find with it; but as we read its words, it counsels resistance to the existing regulations of society, and such resistance as can only end in violence and the direst struggle of classes. With such counsel we have no sympathy whatever, and we have reason to believe the same is true of the great majority of those who are working for radical changes in the relations of society. There is within the reach of the citizens of the United States a legitimate means of effecting such changes in our laws and institutions as are desirable; the ballot can be used by the poorest as well as the wealthiest; and until this means is fully tried, it is worse than idle to talk about revolution and violence; it is suicidal. The American people will never tolerate repetitions of such scenes as were enacted, for instance, last year in connection with the railroad strikes; and the party, new or old, that should assume responsibility for them would thereby destroy all chances of ever becoming a controlling party in this country. We think that one of the greatest drawbacks to the progress of the Industrial Party is the fear that it will not always content itself with peaceful measures in prosecuting its objects of reform; and for its own sake, for its present and future progress, we advise it to trample under foot every proposition looking toward compulsory distribution of labor or property.

From the Boston Index.

THE PRINCIPLE OF COMMUNISM—ITS UNIVERSALITY.

Editor of the Index:—

I had occasion in a late Index to controvert some mistaken views on Communism. Let me now add a few considerations, in an affirmative way, to quiet the nerves of fearful adversaries.

There were brave men before Agamemnon; and there were sociologists, and discoverers in human development before even Herbert Spencer, and especially before John Stuart Mill, who was in no sense a sociologist, but only a logician, metaphysician, and political economist. Their authority is good as far as it agrees with the facts, and no farther. "They didn't know every thing down in Judee;" and there are some small scintillations of wisdom outside of England. There were Owen, St. Simon, Comte; and, head and shoulders over all, Charles Fourier. But I am not going to pit authority against authority. The facts that are thick as blackberries right before our eyes are good enough authorities, and sufficiently convincing proofs of all the positions I have taken upon the subjects of Communism and Socialism. The facts which I presented in my last article are conclusive as to social growth and its continued and farther-on tendency. "A. W. K." does well, and exhibits discretion in not attempting to controvert those facts.

Let me now give another series of facts as to the presence, the prevalence, and, I may almost say, the universality of Communism right about us in our every-day life. Communism is one of the commonest things under the sun; and all opponents are themselves surrounded by it, and even practicing it and subsisting upon it to an unknown, unobserved, and (if they could know it, they might think even to an) alarming extent.

First, there is the common air of which all alike breathe; and the common waters of which all drink, and the common earth on which the whole race dwells. All nature is common to all men and women alike.

Then the institutions which have grown up among men are all common to the individuals participating in them. The streets and highways are common to all travelers. What a state of things that would be where every man, journeying on business or pleasure, must hew out his own private path to church, or tavern, or market town, through fear of the Communism which must inevitably pervade the frequented road! The very existence of railways depends upon the Communism which universally prevails. Railway companies elaborate time-tables, and appoint the departure of trains for months and even years ahead, in the undoubting confidence that the people will come together from all quarters in common, at the appointed hours and places, and fill their cars; and not a train could or would run, if only one person could be carried in it. Not a ferry-boat could cross those great rivers between New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City but for Communism; and it is to Communism that we owe the low price of one, two, and three cents for passage.

We drop our letters in the common boxes; and millions of them are dispatched in all directions thousands of miles distant for the trifling sum of three cents each. Nothing of the kind would be possible but for great numbers and the principle of Communism that pervades them all. The fewer the numbers, the less the Communism, and the higher the price must be. My existence as a letter-writing animal makes your postage cheaper, and your existence lessens the cost of mine. When you take passage for Chicago, you can not help coöperating with me and with all the rest of the passengers, in making it possible to carry us cheaper and cheaper as our numbers increase.

Then there are the common schools, where the children assemble in common rooms, under common teachers, using common books; and it would not be possible to have good schools for all the children without Communism. There is also Communism in every church whose congregation assembles in one building, under one preacher, with common Bible, prayer, and hymn-books; and the very Orthodox and official name of it is "Communion." There too is the very air in the Church,—how very common that is! I have known a congregation to shut up all the windows and doors, and then sit there, and worship, and breathe that air over and over again, each brother breathing the air that a sister had breathed, each sister inhaling the air that had been in a brother's lungs; and every one of them practicing Communism, in that common air, at a most deadly rate. I have known men to get into a bar-room, railway car, or ferry cabin, and, besides breathing each other's breaths, I have known them to smoke each other's smoke over and over again, thus adding nicotine to carbonic acid, and making a most nauseating amalgam of Communism generally.

The great steamship lines could not exist one day but for the principle of Communism; nor could our immense factories, nor extensive trading establishments. Not a ton of coal could be mined and sold for three, four, or five dollars per ton, if there were not millions of common consumers to buy it, and each purchaser makes it cheaper to all the rest. Not a newspaper on the globe could be published for any such paltry sum as two to ten cents per copy, but for the millions of readers and the Communism that pervades them all. Gas and water could not be supplied to cities, but for the Communism of millions of consumers.

The very ballot which executes the free man's will so like lightning falls, as the common snow-flake falls, into a common ballot-box; and the $50,000 President, and the $8,000 Cabinet Ministers, and several hundred $5,000 Congressmen, thence resulting, could not be enjoyed by "we the people," if there were not millions of us to be governed and to share the expense.

Then there are hotels—especially the large boarding and family hotels. A common kitchen, laundry, parlors, and dining-rooms are the indispensable requirements of every family hotel; and that so oft-asserted impossibility has become an every-day success, several families living amicably and agreeably under one roof. All that is needed to develop the modern family hotel into a full-blown Community,—that bugbear of people who have what they are pleased to call opinions, but no knowledge of the subject—is to drop out the proprietor, and let the boarders own and run the concern themselves, through their own appointed agents, sharing the expense according to cost. A nursery, hospital, school, and trades and manufactures added, would still farther develop it into an industrial, self-sustaining Community with all the modern improvements, and in the most perfect order. This development, social evolution is slowly and surely accomplishing, urged on by the "servant-girl" difficulty, adulteration in supplies, high prices at retail, and all the thousand vexations that pursue and will never cease to harass the isolated family.

These are only a few of the many examples of the already wide-spread prevalence of Communism. It is ever present in every enterprise. It is as inherent as form is to substance, and as inexpugnable as shadow from light. Its action is resistless, too, whenever it appears, and beneficent also in all good enterprises, and can be bad only in bad causes. Monopolists can make use of the Communism of millions of customers to fill their own pockets; but the antidote to monopoly is coöperation among the customers themselves, with unlimited sway allowed to the principle of Communism.

If the principle of Communism, then, is so powerful and beneficent whenever it appears in society as it is, whence comes the scare, whence the starting eyeballs and disheveled hair, whenever Communism is mentioned in circles of fashion and to ears polite? Where is the danger attending one or two more applications of the principle of Communism to this outgrowth, or that farther-on step, in social evolution? If the shriekers would descend a moment into their own meditative consciousness, if they have such a convenient outfit about them (or rather in-fit within them), and would really consider the situation, they would soon see the groundlessness of their fears, and would give their free consent

to let social progress go on and have its perfect work.

To the "A. W. K.s" then, who clamor—"Show us a successful application of Communism,"—I answer, as the well-informed captain of one vessel did to the thirsty captain of another, who had been drifting about in a fog and hailed him for water: "Dip it up yourself; you are in the Amazon!"

THERON C. LELAND.

From the Truth Seeker.

"AMERICAN COMMUNITIES."

Brief Sketches of Economy, Zoar, Bethel, Aurora, Amana, Icaria, the Shakers, Oneida, Wallingford, and the Brotherhood of the New Life. By William Alfred Hinds, Office of the American Socialist, Oneida, New York, 1878.

Here is a book made upon honor. The writer is a Communist of a well-defined stripe himself, and yet he has been able to give a fair account of all the styles of Communal life differing from his own. For there are sects in Socialism as there are in religion. Some of the Communities, whose stories are told in this interesting book, are sticklers for marriage simple; others, complex; and others not at all—the latter not necessarily "heaven," where there is said to be no giving of that kind. Some of them live in moderate houses of one, two, or three families; and others live in one common establishment and eat and lodge under one roof. Nearly all of them have some sort of religion, but are divergent in creeds; though all are drawn from the one plenary and unfailing fountain, the Bible. But the one thing in which they do all agree is the early Christian practice of having "all things in common," a practice which their fashionable Christian brethren spurn, disown, and are ashamed of as they are of their homespun mothers and shoemaking grandfathers. They agree also in all the essential virtues—industry, frugality, deference and duty to others, and implicit integrity in dealing with each other and with the outside world. All their products are the result of perfect work and the best materials. You will get nothing shoddy from the Shakers nor adulterated at Oneida.

These Communities are mostly primitive births, the crude and accidental products of an evolution not yet complete. They were conceived in religion and started into being to ultimate a form of faith and live out a creed, not altogether to try a Social experiment. Their Community of property and associated home was the accident of their situation. All the earlier Communists were emigrants from beyond the Atlantic, impelled by a religious idea. Finding themselves here in a strange land, they remained together in a body, took up their lands in common, and organized Communal homes, the better to carry out their religious idea. The Icarians are the one exception to this; they came from France, in more recent years, with no religion, but with the Communal idea dominant from the start.

The Oneida Community is of native origin, and is the most complete and best appreciated of them all. They have a varied industry with perfect tools and machinery for all departments. Their people live like bees, in clover, and are quite as busy. They, too, have a religion, and are very earnest and sincere in it, but it is not ascetic nor an impediment to their development; its yoke is easy and its burden light. Evolution is at work among all these Communities; the fathers pass away and the children, whether home-made or adopted, see with wiser eyes and less severe affections; and all Socialists believe that some grand social problem will be solved by their continued existence.

All this, and more, is told in this encyclopedic nut-shell of a book, for sixty cents, sent to the author at Oneida, New York. The works of other recent writers on these American Communities, Noyes, Nordhoff, and Dixon, are expensive—three or four dollars—but here you have the whole thing in 176 pages at this small price. All who do not like to dogmatize on the various social schemes, but do like to know the facts of the progress thus far gained, will be glad to procure this book.

IT is worthy of note that the Indian, who has never severed his connections with Mother Nature, prefers the associated to individual ownership of the soil. He may have and insist upon his individual possessions; but when it comes to the soil, he has no disposition to monopolize it, or trade and trafic in it. That to him is a common inheritance, and he does not want the common claim in any way disturbed.

It is also worthy of note that the tendency of the age is toward association. The joint ownership of a railroad is no less associative and Communistic than the common ownership of land or a workshop. The subject of coöperative labor and common ownership is yearly receiving more and more attention among the industrious classes, and companies are constantly forming for taking up lands and settling them under some form of common ownership and interest. The tendency of the age may be said to be in this direction, the white man coming back, by a sort of circuitous route, to the untutored and the tutored Indian, who has never been weaned from his primitive, natural ways of look upon the common gifts of God.—*Utica Republican.*

The Physiologist and Family Physician is the title of a new monthly, issued as the organ of the New York Physiological Society. SARA B. CHASE, A. M., M. D., is editor. The Society which issues this new paper was "established to investigate, review, discuss and record the scientific discovery of principles and facts related to the mental and physical progress of mankind;" and we take it the *Physiologist* is designed to be their most important means of communication with the public. "Its proposed mission is to popularize the subject of physiology, and to present to the people information upon such matters as lie at the very foundation of the earthly well-being of man." The editor is a lady of large ability, and well-known as a lecturer and physician. The paper is a very handsome, well gotten-up quarto of sixteen pages, and we trust will prove a valuable auxiliary in the field of progress. Published at 56 West 33d st., New York city, at $1,50 a year.

Josiah Quincy thus speaks of the advantages of Coöperative loan associations: "Of these there are nearly five hundred in the city of Philadelphia. Their deposits are five times greater than those in the savings-banks, and during a quarter of a century there never has been a failure in one of them. They are safer than savings-banks, inasmuch as the managers are chosen annually by the depositors, as these have a direct pecuniary interest in the safety of the investments, as these never have large amounts of money on hand to tempt swindlers or speculators, and as the books are always accessible to the depositors. To depositors they offer security, a large rate of interest, and the power of withdrawing their money with its accumulation at any time on a short notice. The experience of the ten associations in Massachusetts, after only eight months' operation, shows that the results here will be as favorable to persons of moderate means as they have been in Philadelphia, where they have given to workingmen sixty thousand independent homes."

—*Woman's Journal.*

IN England, so good is the sanitary state of the prisons that the mortality among those confined there is considerably less than the rest of the population. The Central Prison of Perth is perhaps the most healthy residence in the world. At all events, of all aggregations of men on which statistical observations have been made it is the one where the mortality is least. Is not this illogical? Is it just that criminals should form a privileged class? Certainly it is well that prisoners should have healthy surroundings. What is done with this object deserves praise. The imprisoned are men, and have the same right to existence as other men. But is it not sad to think that our society is so illogical, that it does not do for honest poverty what it does for thieves, incendiaries, and assassins?—*Le Devoir.*

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

Russia has wheedled Servia a little and made her lovely.

Russia has ordered the formation of ninety-six new battalions of troops.

It looks as if Russia had pacified Austria. The latter is reported to be moving 25,000 men in the direction of Bosnia.

Let us wait a spell and see if those thimble-rigging diplomatists won't get out of the way and let the soldiers go to fighting.

The New York Hospital has a sun-bath in the top of one of its buildings, and 'tis said to work admirably with the convalescents.

Cardinal McCloskey has given notice that the Ancient Secret Order of Hibernians can't march in his processions. They are all Irishmen and Catholics, and it makes them mad.

The *Graphic*, of April 29, has the portraits of the New York State Senators, including the late John Morrissey, who looks less combative than some and quite as modest as any.

Tunis is a part of the Turkish Empire which the French and Germans and Indians are said to covet. Its area is about 50,000 square miles, with a population of 1,500,000 mixed peoples.

General Fitz John Porter is going to have a new hearing. He expects to reverse the decision of that court-martial which cashiered him for disobedience at the second battle of Bull Run.

The *New York Tribune*, for May 1st, has a very clear pictorial map of Paris and the Exposition of 1878, printed on one of those fast presses at the rate of 18,000 impressions an hour.

John Morrissey—dead—poor but honest, they all say. It is easy to speak well of a strong man when he dies and gets out of our way. Fact is, we have to mention a man of force anyhow.

From Trinity Church to Central Park on the Gilbert Elevated Railway in sixteen minutes. Every thing is firm and steady, and the cars go around the curves at the rate of ten miles an hour.

The Grand Duke Nicholas has been promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal General, and gone home to enjoy his honors. General Todleben succeeds him in command of the Russians at Constantinople.

The President's Civil Service order to office-holders has not been rescinded, but it has been explained, and commented on, and otherwise sugar-coated till it is not much of an obstruction to active politicians.

The Turk may be disgruntled at England for not coming to his help sooner, but it is not at all improbable that he will yet find away to wriggle out from beneath the Russian heel and shelter himself under a British alliance.

The Secretary of the Treasury has coined 3,000,000 of silver dollars, but the folks can't do much with them till he gets out some $1,000-silver certificates. The $10-certificates were issued sometime ago, and the larger ones will be out soon.

England still refuses to present any plan for the settlement of the Eastern question, but she seems to be saying, "You just let us fix up things, and then you will see what our plan is. We can't talk much, but we could do something."

Russia had to borrow £100,000,000 for her invasion of Turkey. £80,000,000 of this loan was taken by the Germans. If Germany loves her subjects it is believed that she will go for peace and do nothing to weaken the financial standing of Russia.

It may be considered "practically settled," says the *Graphic*, that the telegraph is to "be superseded by the telephone in all municipal service, and that the telephone is to be adopted as the feeder and auxiliary of the telegraph at all small way stations now too unremunerative to pay the cost of an operator."

The American Colonization Society sent out fifty-three colonists from New York to Liberia in January. Another expedition will leave in June, and another in November. These colonists receive help for the first six months. Twenty-five acres of land are given to each family and ten to each single person.

Charles S. Smith, Chairman of the New York Chamber of Commerce Committee on Railroad Transportation, repeats the charge that the New York Central has entered into a combination which does discriminate against the interests of New York City. The discrimination may not be intentional, but it is actual nevertheless

The *Princeton Review*, now in its fifty-fourth year, is getting the name of a hard-headed periodical. In the May number Professor Andrew P. Peabody, of Harvard College, discusses "Science and Revelation," in which he points out that the limitations of science restrict it to the knowable, and therefore a revelation of the unknowable is not necessarily in conflict with science.

The Travelers' Club, of New York City, was lately disbanded by a vote of its members. A part of them have joined the New York Club. The Travelers' Club made a specialty, while it lasted, of entertaining distinguished travelers who came to this country. These city clubs are a very popular kind of aggregation for men of wealth, but they don't foster the true home life—the women and children are left to entertain themselves as best they can.

The Hon. J. D. Cox, of Ohio, a warm friend of the President, has let out that Mr. Hayes did not realize how big a job he had undertaken when he undertook to reform the Civil Service. "What Mr. Hayes now desires, after his experience with this matter, is the coöperation of Congress in an attempt to establish a definite and thoroughly formulated system of Civil Service, which shall receive the support of the intelligent and thoughtful men of all parties."

There is no doubt but that the Treasury of the United States will have all it can do to protect itself against the horde of old rebel war-claims. According to a late ruling of the Supreme Court, a man with a war-claim is no longer obliged to prove his loyalty, and under this ruling one rebel claim of between $200,000 and $300,000 was actually paid because presented before the Court of Claims had expired. Congress is still harassed by these unscrupulous claimants.

The Communists of St. Louis and Cincinnati are also said to be arming and drilling. A. R. Parsons, one of the Socialist leaders in Chicago, is reported to have said: "At our mass-meetings this summer we shall carry our arms with us, and if the armed assassins and paid murderers (does he mean the police?) employed by the capitalist-class undertake to disperse and break up our meetings, as they did in such an outrageous manner last summer, they will meet foes worthy of their steel."

Batoum, Shumla and Varna have not yet been surrendered to the Russians; they begin to scold about it. The Turkish army in Asia is distributed as follows: 24 battalions and 8 batteries at Batoum; 15 between Erzeroum and Trebizond, and 45 between Erzeroum and Moosh. In Europe they have 225 battalions: 45 of them are between Shumla and Varna: 60 in Thessaly and Epirus: 30 at Galippoli: 120 in and about Constantinople, exclusive of those at Scutari.

The French Exposition was formally opened on the first of May, with a grand procession of dignitaries and some speech-making. One hundred thousand people were said to be in that city awaiting the event. Those of you who are going to the fair can congratulate yourselves that you will

have a big thing, and those of you who intend to stay at home ought to congratulate yourselves that you will not have to wrestle with the exactions of French landlords and the inexpressible weariness of a great show.

A terrific and mysterious explosion occurred in one of the great flouring-mills at Minneapolis, Minn., May 2, shooting up a flame a hundred feet high, and bursting the mill as if it were a mere shell. This was followed by a fire, which was communicated to other mills, till nearly half the mills of that city were destroyed by flame and explosion. The causes of the explosions are not well known, but are believed to be connected with some new process for purifying what are called the "middlings." The loss to the city amounts to $1,000,000 or so.

The arrival of the German Steamship Cimbria at Southwest Harbor, Maine, with a crew of six hundred men—mostly Russians—excites a great deal of comment. It is believed to be a part of a grand scheme of the Russians to prey on British commerce in case of war. She can buy and fit out these ships in time of peace and not involve the neutrals in any thing like privateering. In fact, these cruisers will be officered by Russians, and will be a part of her regular navy. They will not be like the pirate Alabama, which was built in England in time of our war and had so much to do in driving our merchantmen from off the sea. This is a bold stroke on the part of Russia, and may do much to hasten diplomacy in Europe. Americans will have to hold in a great deal not to show how glad they are to see the British commerce fall into other hands.

If it is desirable that every body should have a great deal of business to be settled by the courts, then it is also desirable that we should have an immense judicial thrashing machine a-going all the time—eight tired and sweaty horses sweeping round and round continually and one man atop the engine—smutty and vigilant—cracking his whip to keep every thing a-moving. Horses and judges need no rest. Then every pugnacious, blundering fellow could at any time drive up to the machine with his load of wheat and thistles and have it promptly thrashed and separated—a great heap of straw and thistle heads here, and may be a little good wheat there, and may be none at all. By all means have a machine that will make it easy for a man to go to law. As it is now but very few of us dare to indulge in the luxury of a law-suit—the old machine is so slow—and the judges stop so often to rest.

Ex-Governor Seymour has written a letter to Senator Windom, of Wisconsin, in favor of water routes between the East and the West. In view of last year's reduction of tolls on the Erie Canal, he says: "Grain can be carried, and give a fair profit, for less than the tolls paid the State a few years ago. Six cents a bushel is enough to pay the State, the boats and all charges.....Can we sell our grain in Europe against those who raise grain in Europe? We can if it does not cost too much to get it there, and this will turn upon a very small sum. The question is not, If it cost three cents more to get it to market, how much will this tax the States of the West? but, Will this little change stop the sale of our grain abroad? The men who know most about this trade say it will. If three cents' profit can be made it will be bought. If not it will be left on the hands of the farmers to bear the price of that which we use in this country.

Judge Paxson sits on the Supreme Court bench of Pennsylvania, and this is the way he expresses himself in a decision respecting our liberty of will-making: "The law wisely secures equality of distribution where a man dies intestate. But the very object of a will is to produce inequality, and to provide for the wants of the testator's family; to protect those who are helpless; to reward those who have been affectionate; and to punish those who have been disobedient. It is doubtless true that narrow prejudice sometimes interferes with the wisdom of such arrangements. This is due to the imperfections of our human nature. It must be remembered that in this country a man's prejudices are a part of his liberty. Where a man has sufficient memory and understanding to make a will, and such instrument is not the result of undue influence, but is the uncontrolled act of his own mind, it is not to be set aside in Pennsylvania without sufficient evidence, nor upon any sentimental notions of equality."

The Rev. John Jasper (very black), who has made the world stand still to hear him prove that the "sun do move," is, according to the *Washington Post*, "about five feet ten inches high, sinewy and well made, with a round bullet head set firmly on strong square shoulders. His voice is a strong musical tenor of much power, but in its ordinary tones thick and muffled. There is a great deal of magnetism about the man; he is thoroughly in earnest, and at a colored camp-meeting would gather in the converts at a rate to gladden the hearts of Wesley or Whitfield. His style is eminently adapted to the wants of his congregation, and only lacks cultivation to be singularly powerful and effective. He is essentially dramatic, and his descriptive powers are pictorial and graphic to a high degree. He is an unconscious humorist. Withal, he is a logician of no mean rank, and reasons from his premises to his conclusions with a force and directness that only need cultivation and information to be of convincing weight and influence."

Major S. W. Powell, in charge of the United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain region, has submitted a report on the climatic and other conditions of that immense area of rocks and deserts. He thinks there ought to be some new legislation better providing for the survey and occupation of those lands, than that which now governs the distribution of the public domain in lots of 160 acres. These lands can not be settled by men single-handed. Some of them are only fitted for pasturage in large areas; others need to be irrigated, and others should be kept for the production of timber. "All our laws leave the individual immigrant wholly unable to farm tracts only to be redeemed by expensive and comprehensive irrigation. They should be disposed of without the present limitations, either in quantities to suit capitalists, and with the condition of actual irrigation before the transfer of title, or, if reserved, in accordance with our beneficent homestead provisions, as homes for poor men, a general law is needed under which a number could settle in irregular districts, establishing their own regulations for the use of water and subdivision of lands among themselves." That would be a lesson in practical coöperation. And if that suggestion should ever be acted upon, we might find that the desert had taught the nation a lesson which could be put in practice in more favored places.

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